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PREFACE

When one has completed a work such as this, he realizes, even more forcefully than at any other period of his activity, that its sources in reality lie in the kindness, cooperation, knowledge and patience of others. It is a pleasure to acknowledge this indebtedness at this time.

Dr. Fred Eggan of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago first suggested to me the possibility of undertaking this field study. Mr. Harold J. Coolidge, Executive Director of the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council, under whose auspices and supervision the Scientific Investigation of the Ryukyu Islands (SIRI) Program was conducted, created an atmosphere in which it was possible to pursue one's work freely and independently. I am grateful to him and to his staff.

Funds were made available by the Department of the Army to the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council. I received every courtesy from the military and civilian personnel of the Department of the Army both in Tokyo and in Okinawa. Brigadier General James A. Lewis and the staff of the U. S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands showed a continuing interest, and it was possible to work easily in Okinawa through their efforts.

Mr. H. E. Diffenderfer, head of the Civil Information and Education Department, which sponsored this study, gave his full cooperation both in encouragement and in administrative and clerical assistance. I have profitted from discussions with Doctor, then 1st Lieutenant, William Elmendorf and Dr. Allan Smith, both anthropologists, and formerly on the C I & E staff.

I also wish to thank Mr. Richard Varney of the Department of Food and Natural Resources and Taninato Choyō of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency at Nago, Okinawa, for their advice and assistance in matters relating to forestry. Mr. Taninato was most liberal with his time and showed me personally several areas in the northern forest. He should not be held responsible however for errors or misinterpretations in the text.

My indebtedness to the people of the villages is even greater, and here I must confine myself to a few who either through their own knowledge or through the introductions they gave to others made it possible for me to gradually build up the body of information upon which this report is based.

In Hanashiro: Nakazato Ushikichi, a farmer and member of the Gushichan township council; Shiroma Kichiji, the present headman and a farmer; Sakamoto Genichi, former headman and operator of the rice mill; Nakazato Masao and his wife; Tokumori-san, a teacher of the Gushichan Junior High School and a resident of Hanashiro; Tamaye Yukio, a school teacher at the same school.

In Minatogawa: Moromizato Shinji, a school teacher of Aragusuku; Tamashiro Kamei, headman of Minatogawa-ikku and a fisherman; Uehara Shōichi,

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115 head of the Minatogawa Fisherman's Association; Kokuba Jūshin, a farmer and the village clerk; Moriya-san, the headman of Minatogawa-niku and a farmer; Irei Tokujun, principal of the Gushichan Junior High School and a resident of Minatogawa-niku.

My grateful thanks must go also to Mayor Usa and vice-Mayor Miji of Gushichan township, public officials of whom any people could be proud, and to Nakama Chichō of Minatogawa-ikku, Tokumoto-san, and Kokuba-san, also on the township staff.

In Matsuda: Ikehara Seiyei, a farmer, and his wife; Matsuda Kiyoshi, a young farmer; Nagamine Yoshihiro; Urasaki Kokichi, principal of the Matsuda primary school; Yoshida Yoshikatsu, a farmer; and Higa Hataaki and his wife, and Ushiro Tokuye, headman and his assistants in the village office.

I am grateful also to the many residents of these villages with whom I talked and from whom I received hospitality. Without their patience in explaining many points, elementary to them often difficult for me, I could not have accumulated the data that are presented here.

● 121 The study was begun on July 15, 1951, and I returned to the United States on January 25, 1952. The period from July 15 to August 25 was spent in Hanashiro; from August 26 to October 20, in Minatogawa with frequent visits to Hanashiro, and from October 21 to December 10 in Matsuda. Later the three villages were re-visited for periods of a week to ten days each, following a preliminary analysis of the materials already gathered.

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INTRODUCTION

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The study of human cultures reaches far back into antiquity, and the reasons for the study have remained much the same. Herodotus was interested in the history of Greece and to elucidate this history he found it necessary to discuss the history and the customs of such peoples as the Persians, the Scythians, the Egyptians, and the Babylonians. Like a modern administrator, Strabo in the first century of the Christian era, felt that a knowledge of the geography and of the various peoples living throughout the known world was indispensable to the rulers of the Roman empire. These ancient writers, and many more, sought to explain the differences observed among peoples, and found their explanations in differing physical environments, customs, laws, and religions, or combinations of these.

The moral philosophers of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, devouring the travel accounts from the New World and the Asiatic mainland, and later of the South Pacific, used this new information to discover, so they thought, the way mankind had developed. When Edmund Burke wrote to William Robertson complimenting him on his History of America he spoke feelingly of the opportunity open to him and his contemporaries of seeing all races and types of mankind revealed in a panorama of the present.

In the nineteenth century, the opportunities for scientific travelling were greatly expanded. Alexander von Humboldt in the early years had done much to convince men of the unity of nature amidst all its diversity. Primitive peoples were visited and described, and theories of cultural evolution and of primitive society multiplied. Darwinism brought to the study of man an increased emphasis on adaptation to the environment. The results were that a literature was developed which stressed the growth and progress of peoples and cultures and employed various explanations, some environmental, some racial, to account for these differences. There were great advances in anthropology. To this century also belongs the beginnings of an impressive literature, developed by a very few men, on the great role of human agency in modifying the natural environment, an inquiry associated with the works of the distinguished American, George Perkins Marsh.

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In the increased specialization of the twentieth century, many of these older themes and ideas have become the province of separate disciplines. Scholars are both more and less ambitious. The attempt to understand the development of culture in an ideal series of stages has had to be abandoned by critical scholarship. So have environmental influences and explanations based on racial qualities or endowments. Broad generalization has given way to a more detailed examination of a culture. The traits found there are significant in their own right to be used, not for reconstructing a hypothetical and universal cultural evolution, but for interpreting a whole culture and the patterns which seem to characterize it. In a sense, this attitude has paralleled a similar point of view in biology,

121 in the growth of ecological thinking, though this history is older.

But when we say that it has paralleled ecological thinking, we do not mean that the approach should be identical or even similar. In ecology, the plant or animal, as an individual or in association, is studied as part of the community of plants and animals, whose own growth may be encouraged or hindered by the growth and competition from others. When we study human cultures, this functional approach breaks down. It is not enough to show the context of each cultural trait in the whole, indispensable as this may be. This might produce a satisfying interpretation but it would suffer from important omissions. These are the history of the culture and the periods of contact and isolation that may have characterized it and the changes that the culture has made in the physical environment in which it is placed. No place in the world offers such fruitful illustrations over so great an area and over so long a period of time as Southeast Asia, with the exception of the Mediterranean. The great changes in the soils due to paddy culture and the long fertilization from human excreta and plant residues, soil erosion, deforestation, the minute changes of land from mountain tops to the cultivated valleys can be found in abundance here.

121 181 182 This study of three villages on the island of Okinawa is concerned with many of these themes. As the inquiry progressed and during the period of reflection that followed the collection of materials, it seemed that the most significant characteristic was the existence of the family system, and that this had meaning not only in the places where one would expect it, such as family and daily life, and in the desire to respect the memory of the dead and to guard against extinction of the family line, but that its influence was the key to an understanding of the way in which the culture had changed and modified the natural environment and utilized the resources available to it.

The connecting link between the family system, on the one hand, and the use of the natural environment, on the other, is the system of inheritance, and through the inheritance system on land tenure and land use. And when speaking of land tenure and land use, the reference is not merely to the agricultural land, but to all land, including the forest soils of the north, the uncultivated land scattered over the island, but so vital in its production of grasses to the livelihood of peoples.

121 181 824 One of the most striking aspects of this culture is its dependence on plants, not only for food, but for uses other than food. Houses, their roofs and sidings, plank floorings, excepting only the stones; fibres or wood for sandals or clogs; grasses, cane stalks, shrubbery for fuels; imported cottons for clothing, which have replaced an earlier dependence on reeds or banana leaves; fibres and reeds for rugs and floor mats; rice stalks or other grasses for making carrying baskets; rope of palm or of rice stalks; wooden poles, are but a few illustrations of this close dependence on plant life. It is a culture based on the utilization of plants for all purposes to which are added the multifarious and skillful employment of stone and of water.

To explain these things properly requires a sense of the conditions which have produced them, an appreciation of the historical depth of the culture. In some areas, one perhaps might neglect history, relying on the interesting present to furnish the correct details. Such an approach would be fatal in any study of this part of the world, and neglect of history is responsible for the fatuous doctrine of the "unchanging East." While this is an investigation of contemporary life, indeed that is the purpose of the program under which the study was made, I have felt impelled to point out historical events and conditions which have brought the culture to its present state, not with any assurance that this has been adequately done, but at least to make clear that these historical problems exist, and that the contemporary culture must be seen as the end product of its historical antecedents, including the hints that can be collected of the modifications of the environment by human agency. The present geography of the island is to be seen, for example, not as something given and unchanging. The forested north and the deforested south are in all probability the direct result of the history of human settlement.

An approach of this type, I felt, could best be served by comparative study. Concentration on one village would have resulted in a deeper understanding of the way of life in that village and closer friendships with the villagers, and these advantages cannot be sensibly minimized. The selection of two or three villages might offset this disadvantage and offer some compensations of its own. One of these was comparison, even though it cannot be assumed that merely because three villages instead of one have been studied that a more valid interpretation of the whole culture has been obtained. Even in this small island, each "typical" village seems to grow less and less so as one learns more of the details. But at least the three situations can provide insight into three basically similar but different ways of living. If this is true on an island barely sixty miles long and eighteen miles wide at its widest point, how great this diversity must be in China, Japan, and Korea!

Upon arriving in Okinawa, I spent the first few days talking with officials who had, in the course of their duties, travelled widely throughout the island. From them I was able to obtain an idea of the different types of villages, those like Oku in the north that were exceptional, those that had come under direct American influence due to proximity to civil and military installations, and those that departed from the pattern of agricultural life. With these guides in mind, I determined to select one village whose economy was based on agriculture and this meant primarily the growing of rice, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and soybeans. The number of villages that could meet this broad criterion was large, and it did not seem advisable in view of the shortness of the assignment to spend too much time in selecting a village, because the criteria of what was typical might be just as obscure at the conclusion as at the beginning.

Accordingly, I spent a day or so travelling in the general area south of the Chinen peninsula in the townships of Tamagusuku and Gushichan. These were close to Naha, and yet distant from the main centers of American influence. I was concerned here to select a village which would reflect as

114 much as possible the customary ways of doing things, and though one could
● 121 not hope for an unchanging or an isolated village, one could find a vil-
184 lage relatively so, even if, as was the case with all the villages, they had felt the effects of the deadly campaign for Okinawa.

On one of these trips, I talked with the headman of the village of Hanashiro and then with the officials in the nearby village office of Oushichan, and concluded on the basis of what I saw of the agriculture and the conditions described by these officials, that this small village would be a satisfactory selection. In the beginning, an epidemic of
[164] encephalitis made it wise to be away from the village at night and for the first month the investigations were confined to daytime work. This was a serious handicap which I tried to overcome later in the tour by living in the village.

While working in Hanashiro, I had frequent occasion to pass the villages of Hinatogawa-ikku and Hinatogawa-niku, and I was impressed with the opportunity to study the life of a village in which agriculture
[226] did not predominate, and in which the chief emphasis was on fishing and
[324] stonecutting. I therefore decided to include the fishing village, and took up residence there late in August 1951, making frequent trips on the side to Hanashiro.

As interest and awareness increased, I became convinced that another type of village should be added to the agricultural and fishing selections.
[361] It should be one in the northern forested area (the Kunigami region). After discussing this with American and Okinawan forestry officials, I followed their suggestion and lived in the village of Matsuda in Ginoza township. It proved to be a good choice, with the possible reservation that Matsuda is somewhat of a model village whose conditions might be better than the average.

The villages needed to be small enough for one man to study. And they proved to be admirable communities for realising my original intention of showing similarities and contrasts in an agricultural village, a fishing village, and a village in a forest setting.

121 The results do not constitute a complete ethnography of each of the villages. Such was not my intention, and this could not have been done in the time available. The material has been organised around four central
[128] subjects: (1) the nature of the family system and its influence through inheritance on land tenure and land use, (2) ways of life as illustrated in the studies of the agricultural, fishing-stonecutting, and forest communities, (3) daily family life as a concrete expression of the family system, and (4) wider community relationships, including political and cooperative organizations, education, and religion.

The basic theme is that a fruitful approach to the study of modern cultures lies in the borderland area between the social and the natural sciences, and that, in the case of these Okinawan villages, the study
[311] would take the form of discovering in what ways the people are using their natural environment and the manner in which the culture has changed and

altered that environment to its own uses. I hope that this will result in a broader and a deeper understanding of the manner in which an old culture, subject to frequent changes, with a long history of settlement, has, through its social organization, used and is using its chief resources, the cultivated land, the fish in the seas, the deep stones imbedded in its earth, its forests, and its waters. 121 311

There were certain obstacles in carrying out this plan. As everyone knows who has attempted such tasks, after the first few days the apparent simplicities of village life vanish before one's eyes, and he is left with a mass of observations whose ramifications lead in every direction. There is simply no limit to the courses of inquiry which these "simple" villages open up. 121

There was the problem of distinguishing between what was customary and carried on for this reason and what was of basic living importance in the culture. This difficulty disappears for those who believe that every trait has some significance if it has survived, but this neglects the point that many beliefs and customs belong to segments of a population. To one group what may be done as a matter of form may be of close personal importance to another. Both points are significant, for to do what one is expected to do, even if a pure form, is in itself a fact of importance. This applies especially to religious observances and anniversaries in honor of the dead. In some cases, they seemed perfunctorily performed, particularly among the young and the better educated. The survival of certain beliefs is due to their preservation by segments of the population, and women seem to be the chief carriers of the devotional and religious tradition. Real differences, too, seem to lie in age groups, with the dividing line at about fifty-five to sixty years. Many under this age have little understanding of the history or traditional culture. The old, and particularly the old women, have carried on. 121 183 184 [562] [561]

Observation in itself is deceptive. Even the grasses, shrubs, and pine trees on the hillsides seem to be a more or less permanent part of the natural environment. Yet these were greatly changed during the war and in local areas grasses have succeeded to places formerly occupied by the pines. 121

The information was obtained in the following manner. (1) Personal conversations in the Japanese language with residents of the villages. Much of the information was secured by accompanying people to their work, attending their parties, visiting shops, rice and sugar mills, and asking questions about the things seen. (2) Direct personal observation, supplemented by conversations to check the accuracy and the significance of these observations. (3) Information gathered from village land records, statistics, land maps, and family registers. Later there was considerable difficulty in securing comparability in the statistics. For this reason the attempt to present quantitative data was in some cases abandoned in favor of a general qualitative description. (4) General discussions with the personnel of the Civil Affairs Administration and with Okinawans. (5) Personal impressions, but these have been included only when they are based on repeated observation. (6) In the historical and general 12 127

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128 the village is molded and conditioned to society and the culture in which he will live as effectively in the lanes, the crossroads, and the playgrounds of the village as he is in the home in which he is nursed and put to sleep.

The blending of family life with community life I have tried to document in the last part which concerns both official and unofficial community functions, such as political organization, neighborhood groups, and associations, education, cooperation, religion, entertainment, and extra-village contacts. While it would be foolish to argue that community life is but an extension of family life as conditioned by the family system, neither can the influences of the family system on the wider community life be ignored, especially when the villages are composed of so many related family groups.

● 121 Even though the SIRI program was devised with the practical object in mind of furnishing, by this type of investigation, materials upon which a sound civil administration could be based, an objective with which I am of course in sympathy, I felt that this practical value could best be achieved by producing a work which would cover as much of the field as possible and in a manner as if it were not being done for these practical considerations. A dispassionate account of what I saw, the historical and geographical data that could be assembled, the interpretations which seemed to be valid, I considered to be the best possible way of contributing to the end in mind.

By presenting as much as could be gathered, as accurately as possible, I felt that the answers to many questions, which I could not anticipate, would be implicit in a work which otherwise might lose value by too narrow a focus governed by the interests of the moment. For the same reason, while the work covers many aspects of Okinawan life, it is not directed toward specialists. On the contrary, my attempt has been to present a picture of the life of these villages, trusting that those who use it or read it will find suggestions or points of view or relationships which I had not suspected, and thus indirectly open up new avenues of inquiry.

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There is something to add to the statement of Dr. Green. The fortresses have now disappeared. The same labor, the same minute care of the land which makes them gardeners instead of farmers in their fields, and conservationists of their cultivated and their wild land exists today. The changes of the landscape since that time have come within the last ten years, first through the destruction of war, which affected cultural installations as well as the natural environment, and the changes which have been made in the physical environment by the Americans. The bulldozer works alongside the hoe; the airplane takes off in sight of a horsecart. The new American homes overlook the thatched roofs of an ancient way of living. The water system of an army camp or military reserve, using thousands of gallons daily, exists beside the well, the community faucet, or pond with individual families using six or seven bucketfuls a day. The island has come a long way in the transformation of the natural landscape by the hand of man, beginning, one may suppose with the earliest interferences by fire and in the clearing of trees to the contemporary scene, where transformations, a combination of age old tools and of modern machinery, continue before our eyes.

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It is in this ever changing physical environment, itself the product of long settlement and the intense change of a most recent past, that we must see the growing population, the everyday village life, the continuance of agriculture and soil care, the land, and the forests.

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Care and Conservation of Land

One of the significant tasks of our time is the study of the relation between population growth and density and the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable resources: the effects of a culture on the land, the forests, the soils and the vegetation must be considered in ethnographic and geographic work. If this is not done the culture is studied as if it rested, like a plate on a table, on a geographic base, without bothering to discover the nature of the environment or what the culture is doing to it.

Nineteenth century studies of primitive and advanced societies emphasized the influence of the physical environment in molding a culture. This crude fallacy, often known as geographic determinism or environmentalism, was exploded by studies made of cultures in all parts of the world in which it became clear that the physical environment is not the cause of cultural differences.

But the reverse of this approach, the examination of what a culture is doing to its physical environment, its soils, its vegetation, and its forests has not been carried on with the vigor with which other aspects of culture have been studied. This point of view has practical significance in day to day administration. Economic matters such as foreign trade or the labor force requirement should not be a separate and independent segment for study. Changes in inheritance should not be viewed solely with reference to the family system. Forest conservation should not be regarded only as a technique and a necessary department in the government.

The effects of the devastating typhoons, for example, need no elaboration: the destruction of life, crops, houses, of boats, and breakwaters. But their effects are also influenced by other factors. The two southern villages were in the midst of some of the violent fighting of the Okinawan campaign. Large numbers of houses in both communities were destroyed by the war. The new buildings to replace them are so frail that in typhoon times they are often destroyed. This rebuilding requires more wood and more grass. Thus, such factors as the war, the inability to reconstruct permanent housing, typhoons, and the natural growing of miscanthus grass are joined together in a close relationship.

In the south the relationship of typhoon destruction to deforestation is striking. There is need for tidebreak groves and shelter belts along the coast to protect crops from wind and salt-water spray, a need which fortunately the Ryukyuan Forest Agency is attempting to meet. Deforestation in the south seems inescapably tied up with long occupance. The center of population has always been in the southern part of the island. Not only should there be trees, but they should be planted in the right places. The deforestation of

731 313 the south over a period of centuries thus is related to water spray and wind damage, relationships which a wise administration cannot neglect. The deforestation of

●121 The natural tendency is to think in terms of population and land and of the food which it can produce. But if the population is envisaged in terms of forest, the land, both cultivated and uncultivated, and the role of the uncultivated land in protecting the soil, broader understandings are possible.[9]

231 It is a significant fact, to use another example, that goats are tethered and not allowed to graze. They do not roam the hillsides, nor crop off the shoots of young plants. If they did, it is possible that legislation controlling the goat might have to be enacted such as has been done in the island of Cyprus.

311 731 185 It is important therefore, to ascertain how a culture makes use of its natural environment and also how it takes care of it. Typhoons cannot be controlled. Neither can periods of drought which often produce water shortages, prevent the planting of sweet potatoes, or the harvesting of a good rice crop. In areas where control is possible, the Okinawans have developed conservation measures. Almost one hundred years ago, Dr. D. S. Green, Fleet Surgeon attached to the frigate Mississippi on Perry's expedition to Japan, wrote:

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> "Two objects seem to influence the islanders in all their operations, viz: the retention of water or moisture, and the avoidance of surface-washing. To effect these desirable ends, especially in a rolling country, a great quantity of grading is required, besides very deep culture; and here both of these have been done."[10]

000 In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed.

[Text continues TOP of P. 157 -- Analyst]

9 The general ideas and points of view expressed by Edward Graham in his Natural principles of land use, London, New York, and Toronto, 1944, are pertinent here.

10 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 26-27. The emphasis is in the original. Green continues with further details of grading around streams, along ravines, and on the uplands. His description today would still fit many parts of Okinawa. He was particularly impressed with the lands on a journey between Nugah (i.e., Nago) and Tanegah, southwest of Unten. His whole passage is well worth reading.

Two other forms of land conservation and maintenance, crop rotation and fertilizers, will be discussed under agriculture.

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Introduction

The modern history of Okinawan education falls into three periods, which correspond with the cultural influences of three different nations: (1) the traditional education borrowed from China, (2) the Japanese system of education, and (3) the introduction of American concepts of education following the war.[1]

The Chinese influences ended in the latter part of the 19th century. Education was confined to the upper classes. "Aping China in everything, Lew Chew has also its three yearly examinations, which, for the time being, make quite a stir in the learned world, but hold out no prospect for high station, as in China. At most, the fortunate candidate gets, beside a good fill of honor, a rice pension or a schoolmastership."[2]

The new Japanese education also introduced western ideas into Okinawa through a Japanese sieve. The Meiji Rescript on Education (1890) codified the principles of this new pedagogy. It was a method of inducing conformity to the ideals of the new Japan. The most important point was that education became a mass program.[3] This new education, according to Chamberlain (1895), took hold gradually.

Before the war there were two policies in public education. Up to 1940, primary school (shōgakko) was an eight year course. In addition to the usual studies, the curriculum from grades one through six emphasized duties and obligations (gimu) to one's parents, relatives, friends, and to the emperor. The national school (kokumingakko) system, which lasted until the end of the war, replaced the old primary school. Instruction in duties and obligations extended over eight years with intensified emphasis on nationalism and emperor worship.

1 Education is a large, complex, and technical subject. Time did not permit spending a large amount of time in classrooms. My purpose here is to show how education is related to village and family life and to explain the general nature of the problems as I observed them.

2 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 223-24. The words are those of Dr. Bettelheim.

3 The modern school system in Japan dates from 1872. Many of the Okinawan schools seem to have been started in the eighties and nineties. The first school in Okinawa is said to have been started in Shuri in 1796.

In the post-war period also roads have increased, and they have been widened. More vehicles are on the roads. One can travel through the villages of Okinawa over widened roads which before the war probably differed little from those described by Captain Hall in 1816 and by his grandson Basil Hall Chamberlain in 1895. This extension of the highway system has increased the mobility of Okinawans. Perhaps ultimately the cultural differences among villages will give way to wider uniformity induced by these innovations.

There is something enthralling in reading the chapters on "Lew Chew" in Francis Hawks' Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, which he compiled from the notes and journals of Commodore Perry, and the pages of Bayard Taylor's work, along with Okinawa, The Last Battle, which the Historical Division of the Department of the Army published in 1948. These give some measure of the change that has been brought about not only in the Great Loo Choo but in the world.

It has been my purpose here to tell part of the remaining, the contemporary story of the people whose islands early ethnologists were so fond of referring to as an anthropological museum.

The End

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[PP. i - Vii not Processed]

Introduction

●121 This volume is the first of a series of publications reporting research undertaken in 1954 by a group of social scientists from Harvard, Yale, and Cornell universities. In its broadest conception, the research was aimed at exploring cross-culturally the relation between different patterns of child rearing and subsequent differences in personality. It was designed to study the degree to which the treatment a child receives in the first years of life determines his behavior and in adult life influences his perception of the world, his philosophy, religion, and code of ethics.

Theories of the relationship between specific types of treatment in early childhood and subsequent personality difference have been advanced by psychologists and anthropologists. This project was set up with the hope of being able to test some of these hypotheses on the basis of material collected in a standard manner in six parts of the world where families have divergent ways of life and theories and methods of training young children.

121 In tracing the history of this project one should begin with the work 127 of Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Edward Sapir, Ralph Linton, Abram Kardiner, John Dollard, and other pioneers in the field of culture and personality whose work formed the foundation of this study. Such an account, which would demand an essay on the entire new discipline that grew out of the integration of anthropological and psychological theory, is not practical in this introduction.

121 Specifically, the impetus for this study came from the cross-cultural 114 work on socialization done by two of the senior investigators, John W. M. Whiting and Irvin L. Child, while they were colleagues at the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University. The results of this research were published in *Child Training and Personality* (1953). Using

theories of disease as measures of adult personality, the authors attempted to test certain psychological theories relating the treatment of the basic behavior systems in infancy and childhood to adult personality characteristics.

The data on the 75 societies used in these studies were taken from published ethnographies which varied greatly in the detail and areas of coverage. The dream of the investigators was to send field teams out to get comparable detailed material on 100 societies. As a first step in accomplishing this aim, the present study was planned.

In 1953 the Committee on Social Behavior of the Social Science Research Council sponsored a seminar * and a conference † to discuss cross-cultural work on socialization. As a result, a *Field Manual for the Cross-Cultural Study of Child Rearing* was prepared (Whiting et al., 1953), and Whiting and Child persuaded William W. Lambert of Cornell University to join them in seeking funds to carry out a comparative study of child rearing. A generous grant from the Behavioral Science Division of the Ford Foundation made it possible to carry out these plans. The fieldwork and part of the analysis and writing of five of the six reports in this volume were financed by this grant. Later analysis and editing were supported by a grant from the United States Public Health Service.

Intensive planning for the study was carried on at Cornell, Harvard, and Yale during the following year under the direction of the senior investigators, William W. Lambert, Irvin L. Child, and John W. M. Whiting. During June and July of 1954, a Social Research Council Summer Conference was held at the Laboratory of Human Development at Harvard. All the research personnel, with the aid of David Aberle of Michigan, Alfred Baldwin, and James J. Gibson of Cornell, and Robert Sears of Stanford, wrote the *Field Guide for a Study of Socialization in Five Societies*. This volume presents in detail the research plan, the hypotheses to be tested, and the research devices which were agreed on by the field teams and senior investigators.‡

The five original field teams started fieldwork in the fall of 1954 and

* The contributing members of this seminar were Barbara Chartier Ayres, Hildreth Geertz, George Goethals, Charles Holzinger, Edgar Lowell, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Kimball Romney, Richard Salisbury, William Stewart, and John Thibaut.

† Attending this conference were Robert R. Sears (Chairman), A. L. Baldwin, R. A. Bauer, Irvin L. Child, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., Leon Festinger, J. L. Gewirtz, A. Inkeles, Harry Levin, Gardner Lindzey, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Carson McGuire, G. P. Murdock, B. Paul, J. M. Roberts, T. R. Sarbin, Pauline S. Sears, M. Brewster Smith, R. L. Solomon, John W. Thibaut, and John W. M. Whiting.

‡ Published in mimeographed form by the Laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University, 1954.

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spent from 6 to 14 months in the field. Although the original design of the study called for a sample of societies whose culture had been already studied by ethnologists, the temperament and motivation of young anthropologists are such that they tended to choose groups who are relatively unknown and who, often for some personal reason, appealed to their interests. The actual groups chosen represented a compromise between the advantages of previous coverage and these personal interests, in addition to providing the great range of differences desired by the project planners. Kimball and Romaine Romney of Harvard chose a group of families in the Mixtecan barrio of Santa Domingo in the town of Juxtlahuaca in Oaxaca province, Mexico. Leigh Minturn Triandis and John Hitchcock of Cornell selected a group of families of the Râjpût caste in the town of Khalapur in Uttar Pradesh in northern India. William and Corinne Nydegger, also of Cornell, chose a group of Ilocano-speaking families living in hamlets in northern Luzon in the Philippines. Thomas and Hatsumi Maretzki of Yale chose the village of Taira in Okinawa. And John and Ann Fischer of Harvard moved into a neighborhood in Orchard Town in New England.

In 1955 a sixth team, Robert and Barbara LeVine, left for Kenya, Africa. They were financed by a Ford Foundation fellowship and a National Science Foundation predoctoral fellowship.

To help insure comparability of data, a central clearing house was set up at the Laboratory of Human Development under the supervision of Beatrice B. Whiting. Field notes were mailed in periodically, and field problems were discussed by correspondence. To prevent bias, the sample of children for each team to observe was picked by the staff at the laboratory from the census material.

The research design, agreed on by all the field teams, was set up to measure as accurately as possible the child-training practices and the hypothesized individual and cultural differences in personality, particularly in the areas of aggression, dependency, and the internalization of various mechanisms of behavior control—areas of particular theoretical interest to the senior investigators at Cornell, Yale, and Harvard universities, respectively. Previous research had been done in these areas at the Institute of Human Relations at Yale, at the Iowa Child Welfare Station under the direction of Robert Sears, and subsequently at the Laboratory of Human Development at Harvard University. The research conducted at the last two institutions had focused on a study of individual differences among groups of mothers and children in Iowa, Massachusetts, and among three different cultural groups in the Southwest. Cross-cultural research on aggression was conducted by

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121 Lambert and Triandis at Cornell (1959), on self-reliance and responsibility at Yale by Barry, Child, and Bacon, (1959) and on socialization techniques in the Southwest at Harvard by Whiting, Chasdi, Antonovsky, and Ayres (in press).

In designing the research reported in this volume, an attempt has been made to assess individual as well as cultural differences. This is one of the unique aspects of the design. The hope was to test hypotheses concerning the relations of child-rearing practices and consequent personality, both intraculturally and cross-culturally. In the first instance, 24 mothers in each society were studied as individuals in their relationship to one of their children, and each of the 24 children (ages 3 to 10) was observed and interviewed in a standard manner in the hope of detecting behavioral and personality differences. The cross-cultural measures included material on child-training practices and also religious beliefs, theories of disease, recreational activities, and so on collected by standard ethnographic techniques.

124 A word should be said here concerning the nature of the unit which each field team chose to study. It was decided to choose a group large enough to yield an adequate sample of individual families. For our design this meant a group of at least 50 families would be needed to draw our sample of 24, since at least half the families would have grown-up children or children under 3. On the other hand, we wanted a group who knew each other and shared beliefs, values, and practices. Furthermore, the ethnographic techniques which we intended to employ—to be used with maximum efficiency—require a small group. Each team therefore chose a community of between 50 and 100 families, which was for them their unit of study.

121 B 155 Implicit in the research design is a general concept of the relation of personality to culture, which may be presented as follows: The ecology of the area determines the maintenance systems, which include basic economy and the most elementary variables of social structure. In other words, the type of crops grown, the presence or absence of herding, fishing, and so on, depend on the nature of the terrain, the amount of rainfall, the location of the area *vis-à-vis* centers of invention and diffusion. These basic economic conditions determine in part the arrangement of people in space, the type of houses, and household composition. These in turn set the parameters for child-rearing practices.

It is obvious that ecology does no more than set gross parameters for the social structure. Within these parameters, the nature of the composition of households, neighborhoods, and other social groups will lead to variance in child training. Whether or not a grandmother lives

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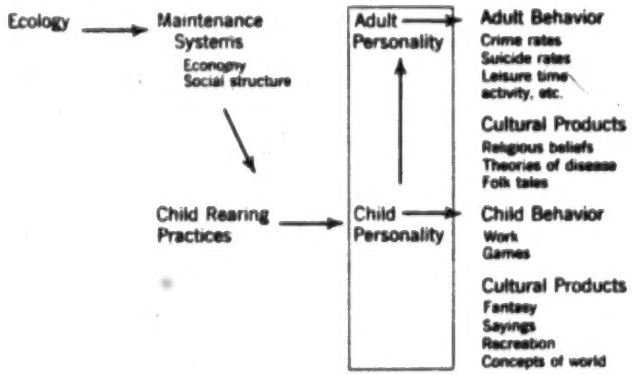
in the house, or whether other relatives are close at hand, will influence a mother's behavior toward her child.

It is assumed that different patterns of child rearing will lead to differences in the personality of children and thus to differences in adult personality. Since personality may only be inferred, the problem of measurement is difficult on both the individual and the cultural level. Individual children may be given tests of various kinds, interviewed or observed. On a cultural level, one may analyze the patterning of child or adult behavior, for example, the games and recreational activity, the rituals or ceremonial life, or one may assess the beliefs about the supernatural, theories of disease, or popular folk tales in terms of personality dimensions.

The chart presented below indicates this conceptual system in a simple manner.



To summarize the conceptual background in another way, the researchers viewed ecology, economics, and social and political organizations as setting the parameters for the behavior of the agents of child rearing. They viewed child behavior as an index of child personality and adult behavior and beliefs and values as indices of adult personality. The causal relationships implied in this scheme are open to discussion, and such discussions, with present available knowledge, ultimately end with a problem similar to that of the priority of the chicken or the egg.

This volume presents the cultural material. Subsequent publications will present the analysis of the individual measures: the mother inter-

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121 views, child interviews and Thematic Apperception Tests, and the child behavior protocols. It is worth noting, however, as stated in the *Field Guide,* that "One of the hallmarks of the research project is the emphasis on systematic observation of behavior and the development of flexible questionnaire methods which focus upon concrete actions, with projective techniques taking a clearly secondary, but related place." The choice of these methods for assessing personality was the result of the senior investigators' previous disappointment in their attempts to relate doll play and other projective tests to other measures of behavior.*

The cultural material presented in this volume will be used to make a preliminary test of our hypotheses. Further tests will be made on the basis of the individual differences in the behavior of children and the methods of child rearing reported by the individual mothers. Both these analyses will be presented in later publications. A preliminary report of the analysis of the mother interviews by Triandis and Lambert has already been published (1961) and their detailed analysis is near completion.

128 The outline of each of the six monographs included in this volume is organized around the conceptual system presented above. There are two main parts: one a description of the adult world into which the child is born—*the ethnographic background,* the second an account of how the child is trained—*child training.* In Part I, each account starts with a description of the environment and the local setting, with descriptions of the village plan, the houses, and their interior arrangements. The account then moves on to a description of the daily routine of living and the economic pursuits of men and women. A chapter on social structure follows. In other words, these chapters describe the maintenance systems, the parameters which set the stage for child rearing. The selection of material for the remainder of Part I is also theoretically determined and includes either descriptions of adult behavior or the cultural products which seem to be the best indices of adult personality.

121 In order to explain the selection of behavior and cultural products, it is necessary to return to the discussion of the dimensions of personality selected for focus by the senior investigators. As noted, the hypotheses to be tested were focused on aggression, dependency, and the internalization of various mechanisms of behavior control. William Lambert and the Cornell group, because of previous research, were most interested in aggression, Irvin Child in dependency, and John Whiting and the Laboratory of Human Development in the

* For a detailed discussion of behavior observation, see Lambert (1960).

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problem of the development of internal controls which have been variously labeled as guilt, conscience, and super-ego.

It was the conviction of the researchers that the areas of study had to be limited and clearly defined if standardized material was to be collected. Chapter 1 of the *Field Guide* is a description of the "systems" of behavior which were chosen for study and the hypotheses which the investigators hoped to test. It is impossible to include a detailed description of the theory in this introduction, but in order to understand the material presented in this volume it is necessary to at least present a summary of the behavior systems and the nature of the hypotheses.*

The nine behavioral systems include succorance, nurturance, self-reliance, achievement, responsibility, obedience, dominance, sociability, and aggression. In the most general terms, succorance is defined as asking others for help; nurturance, as giving help or emotional support; self-reliance, as doing things for one's self; achievement, as striving to meet internal standards of excellence; responsibility, as performing one's expected role duties; obedience, as attempting to meet the demands of others; dominance, as attempting to change other's behavior; sociability, as making friendly approaches to other individuals; aggression, as hurting others. It was assumed that each of these systems of behavior would exist in some form and degree in every society in a recognizable form and could best be identified as responses to specific universal situations. For example, given a situation in which an individual encountered difficulty, whether he asked for help or solved the problem himself would indicate the relative strength of his succorance or, in contrast, his self-reliance. A measure of nurturance would be the frequency of the spontaneous giving of help or the reaction to requests for help or the perception that others need help.

Returning to the present volume, in describing the adult culture of each society we have included material which we consider relevant to these nine behavior systems.

The chapter on social control is included because it gives information on the frequency of brawls, fights, crimes, and other conflicts and describes the techniques which the society has devised either for preventing such conflicts from arising or for stopping existing conflict. Comparison of this material gives indices of the expressed aggression of the adults and the existence and type of internalized controls. It will be noted, for example, that the incidence of rape is high in Nyansongo, that litigation is frequent in Khalapur and Nyansongo,

* For a full discussion of behavior systems see Child (1954).

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and that there are few cases of physical violence in either Taira or Santa Domingo barrio, Juxtlahuaca.

The chapter on medical practices and theories of disease is included because variations in such belief systems were found useful indices of personality by Whiting and Child (1953) in their cross-cultural study and in later studies by Whiting (1959). Similarly, the analysis of man's relation to the supernatural was fruitfully analyzed by Spiro and D'Andrade (1958), Whiting (1959), Lambert, Triandis, and Wolf (1959). Mourning behavior and death ceremonies have also been studied cross-culturally (Friendly, 1956).

It was hoped that the analysis of the use of leisure time might be made along dimensions relevant to the nine behavior systems. The man who prefers to be alone in his spare time would be rated less sociable than one who always seeks the company of others. The amount of teasing or playful wrestling in leisure settings, or even the amount of pleasure derived from cock fights, might be used to rate the degree of preoccupation with aggression. The amount of time spent practicing skills might indicate the need for achievement. Whether or not men seek the company of women, men and women, or only men, is of interest in assessing personality; similarly, whether a man chooses to smoke, eat, talk, drink, dance, or play games. The nature of popular games can be analyzed along lines suggested by John Roberts (1957).

Part II of the ethnographies is organized chronologically, beginning with pregnancy and childbirth and continuing through preadolescence. The time spent on the observation of this age span made it impractical to study systematically the lives of the adolescent children. The only exception to this is the monograph on the Nyansongo group in Kenya. The LeVines were particularly interested in the effect of initiation ceremonies on the Nyansongo boys and girls. For this reason they selected three age groups for study: the 3-to-7, the 7-to-10-year-olds, and the postinitiation boys and girls. The Nydeggers included a brief chapter on adolescence in their monograph. The other field teams did not feel that they had enough knowledge to include such a description.

The age span covered in the individual chapters of the six descriptions of socialization differs, each division being made on the basis of the age groups and the transitions recognized by the members of the society. Thus in Khalapur, India, where socialization is not broken by clearly defined stages, there are only three chapters. In Taira, Okinawa, on the other hand, there are named stages and sharp transitions, and the Maretzkis have followed this pattern in describing

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socialization. Weaning from the breast and back is an abrupt change in an Okinawan child's life. The transition from kindergarten to school age is also clear and dramatized. Before school age a child is "senseless," according to the mothers, and cannot be properly trained.

Within these chapters an attempt has been made to cover the parent's or parent surrogate's treatment of the nine behavior systems and the child's response to socialization. Obviously some of the behavior systems are not relevant in infancy. In general, the early chapters concentrate on the handling of succorance, the mother's early contact with the child, the number of other individuals who share in the early care of the child, and their responsiveness to the demands of the infant. Among the hypotheses advanced in the *Field Guide*, several concern the consequence of indulgence in infancy. As stated: "Indulgence in infancy, a large number of nurturing agents, and mild transition from infantile indulgence into childhood will produce: (1) a trustful attitude toward others, (2) general optimism, and (3) sociability." It is also stated that training with respect to succorance will tend to influence sociability.

It is hoped that, on the basis of the information presented in the chapters on infancy, the reader can compare indulgence in infancy and the number of nurturing agents. The comparison of weaning from the breast and from complete dependence on caretakers should make it possible to evaluate the severity of the transition. For the consequent measures one may turn either to the description of the behavior of older children or to the behavior and belief systems of adults. Is it true that, comparatively speaking, the Juxtlahuacan Mixtecan child is more friendly and sociable in later life than the Nyansongan? In infancy, the Mixtecan is constantly held or carried close to the mother's body, enveloped in a shawl. The Nyansongo child is tended for periods of time by a less consistently responsive 5-to-8-year-old child. In adult life, are the Juxtlahuacan Mixtecan adults more optimistic and trustful than the Nyansongans?

With the onset of weaning, other behavior systems become important. Training for self-reliance and the associated punishment for succorance are universal problems, but the degree to which this new behavior is expected of 3-year-olds varies from one society to another. The Orchard Town 3-year-old is feeding and dressing himself while the Khalapur Rājpūt child of the same age may still be dressed and fed by his mother. Similarly, as mentioned earlier, the abruptness of the shift in expected behavior varies. The handling of aggression against parents, siblings, and peers is also a universal problem which

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155 all parents and socializers must face at this time. Probably closely associated with this behavior system is training for obedience and respect.

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121 The *Field Guide* contains many hypotheses about the antecedents
B of aggressive behavior in children and adults and stresses the techniques
155 used by parents in the handling of aggression as well as their model
157 behavior. Specifically, one hypothesis advanced is that permissiveness on the part of parents for teasing behavior should be reflected in the increase of observable unprovoked aggressive behavior on the part of children and adults. Is it indeed true that the Tarongan child who is "playfully" teased by his parents and other adults from early childhood instigates aggressive behavior more frequently than a Rājpūt child whose parents do not "playfully" tease their children?

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121 A second hypothesis concerning the handling of aggression states
B that children will be less apt to retaliate to aggression if parents and
155 socializing agents punish any expressiveness with regard to anger. Again, the Khalapur Rājpūt child whose mother dislikes all expression of emotion, even excessive joy, and the Juxtlahuacan Mixtecan child who is taught that he will sicken and die if he eats while angry should be less aggressive when provoked than the children of Orchard Town.* It will be noted that a distinction is made between unprovoked and provoked aggression. A further distinction is made with regard to instrumental aggression, where a person tends to select aggressive means for attaining his ends. Comparisons between the handling of aggression in childhood may also be used to explore hypotheses as to the conditions which lead to the displacing of aggression to others, the use of fantasy to express anger or the projection of one's own desires to hurt others. Here for consequent measures one can turn to theories of disease and the nature of the supernaturals. The theory would predict that those societies which punish aggression most severely would project their anger into the supernatural world and believe in dangerous and malevolent beings or attribute superhuman evil capacity to humans and believe in sorcery or witchcraft. To date, the best socialization variables for predicting the belief in witches and sorcerers is a combination of polygyny and the severe punishment for sex and aggression (Whiting, 1959). Of our societies, the Nyansongans are the most ridden with the belief in these superhuman individuals. Their treatment of aggression is therefore of particular interest. It is also of interest to speculate whether there is some relation between the Tarongan parents' treatment of aggression and teasing behavior and

* For further discussion of the hypotheses regarding aggression, see the *Field Guide for a Study of Socialization in Five Societies*, pp. 18–22.

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their belief in whimsical spirits who must be avoided and not annoyed.

Each monograph on socialization also includes an extended section on techniques used by the socializing agent. Our theory stresses the importance of rewards and punishments for the specific types of acts included in the nine behavior systems. It includes, however, theories as to the differential effect of various types of rewards and punishments and the conditions under which they are administered. Rewards may be material, such as food or money, or immaterial, giving love and acceptance or praise and prestige. Privileges may also be used as rewards. All types may be given after good behavior or used to incite desired behavior.

Punishments depend on two types of sanctions: injury or abandonment which may have as referents several types of agents—parents or authority figures, peers, the self, or supernatural agents.

These rewards and punishments may be given for different reasons. The locus of evaluation may be a specific response of the child, some consequence of his action, or the child himself as a person. In other words, one may praise a child because he does a chore well, because he has helped his mother by doing the chore, or because he is a good boy.

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The nature and strength of internal controls—mechanisms which keep an individual from breaking the rules of a society—are thought to be related to techniques and agents of socialization as well as to the strength of a child's identification with the same and opposite sex parents (Whiting and Child, 1953; Whiting, 1960; Burton and Whiting, 1961; Bacon, Child and Barry, in press). To determine the strength of these internal controls we hoped to observe the differences in children's behavior in the presence and absence of socializing agents. On a societal level, we predicted that when a boy's identification with the same sex parent is weak, there will be a higher incidence of crime.

We expected to find that authority figures would be important as sanction agents in the adult culture: when there was marked differentiation of authority within the nuclear family; when discipline was carried out by or in the name of the head of the house; and when responsibility and obedience training were emphasized. We expected peers to be important agents when there was little differentiation of authority within the family, when the right of discipline was not focused and self-reliance training was emphasized. If these hypotheses are correct, we would expect consequent differences in the social control systems.

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For most of the societies, the period from 6 to 10 emphasizes responsibility training. A comparison of the chores assigned to boys and

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girls during this period, the rewards and punishments for good or bad performance or omission are an index of the training in this behavior system. The age at which different types of chores are assigned gives a clue to the age at which a society considers a child to have "sense," to be capable of reason, and it indicates the beliefs about the nature of the learning process. It will be observed, for example, that the Khalapur Rājpūts believe children learn primarily by observing, and hence they do little direct instructing. One type of responsibility is training children to care for younger siblings or cousins and neighbors. This training may start very young, as in Taira and Nyansongo, or may be late and unimportant, as in Orchard Town.

The size and composition of play groups and the attitudes of parents on friendliness are described for each age grade. It was hypothesized that sociability would be related both to training in nurturance and to the treatment of succorance, but initial comparisons would indicate that nurturance is probably more closely related to training for responsibility and dominance than to friendliness.

In planning the research the senior investigators were also interested in discovering age and sex differences in behavior which might be universal (Barry, Bacon and Child, 1957). Is it true that in spite of radically different treatment in infancy and early childhood in the six societies, boys and adult men are always more aggressive physically than girls and women and that girls and women are always more affectionate than men? Are there regularities in behavior which hold across cultures? Does succorance always decrease with age and dominance always increase? Although these are questions which cannot be answered from a comparison of the six societies alone, consistent age and sex differences should be followed up by further research.

The reader will be aware that in spite of the research design, the data are not always comparable, that in the different areas studied, some monographs have better coverage than others. These variations are due not only to the personalities, interests, and training of the fieldworkers but also to the nature of the culture of the societies they chose to study.

Although this volume concentrates on the material that the researchers felt was theoretically relevant, it is hoped that readers with different conceptual systems and different hypotheses concerning human behavior will find it possible to make some relevant comparisons between the six societies. Those who were concerned with the project have developed new insights and new hypotheses. Some of these can be studied, but for many, the relevant data are not detailed enough and must await further studies. It is our belief that this is

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inevitable in the field of social science and that progress comes from being willing to state hypotheses, test them, derive new theories and plan new research to test these.

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PREFACE

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122 This report is based on nine months of field research which was conducted under the auspices of the Pacific Science Board of the National Academy of Sciences with Department of Army funds granted by a subcontract with the Human Resources Research Office of The George Washington University. The project was considered a part of the long-range SIRI (Scientific Investigations in the Ryukyu Islands) program developed by the Pacific Science Board "...to advise and assist the administrative authorities of the Ryukyu Islands in problems of rehabilitation relating to the health and economy of the Ryukyu
● 121 Islands." The objectives of this study were set forth in a broad outline presented by the Pacific Science Board prior to our departure into the field. In brief, it called for a description and assessment of the impact of the United States military occupation on Okinawan culture. Certain aspects of the project outline were later amended to meet the exigencies of the field situation. In the preparation of this report the authors' primary aim has been to inform those actively concerned with Okinawan-American relations; hence, a time limitation largely imposed by the necessity of presenting information while it is still pertinent has precluded a fuller treatment of certain aspects of our data which ordinarily would have been included in a complete ethnographic account.

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101 Field time covered the period from September of 1953 to June of 1954. One of the authors remained on Okinawa for an additional month to compensate for time lost due to illness and hospitalization.

128 Although each of us worked on several aspects of culture, in writing up our material we divided it roughly according to the major field of interest of each. Thus, though each chapter, or section of the last chapter, bears the name of the writer only, it was written from an outline that was discussed by all three and all three contributed both data and ideas to it.

We have tried to keep Okinawan and Japanese terms to a minimum, that is to use them only when there is no clear English equivalent or to add them (usually parenthetically) only as linguistic evidence for the existence of an object, practice, or concept. Nevertheless, they will be found scattered throughout the report. Although each term is defined, we hope, where it first appears, we have identified each again in a glossary. The distinction between native Okinawan terms and Japanese terms is worth preserving; we have done so by underlining the Okinawan terms and enclosing the Japanese terms in single quote marks. Some inconsistency in the Okinawan terms is due to differences in dialect and differences in recording.

101 Although we spent a bit of time in a number of communities on Okinawa, the major part of our work was in six: Pitts in Nanahan (Tomoyose), Kochinda-son, Goeku-son; Lebra in Kanegusuku, Kanegusuku-son and Kitazato, Kamimotobu-son; and Suttles in Yamazato, Chinen-son and Yamada, Onna-son. The locations of these communities is shown on Map 1.

CHAPTER III: AGRICULTURAL HISTORY, LAND USE AND DIET

F. R. Pitts

121 178 The concept of the unchanging Orient certainly fails to appear true in the case of Okinawa, when the past is examined closely. Indeed, it seems hard to find an area where so much change has been accomplished so fast. The following is designed to show some major aspects of that change, particularly insofar as the farmer is concerned.

1. Agricultural History

175 241 198 The Early Days As early as the 1730's when the great Okinawan statesman, Saion, urged the growing of the sago palm 'sotetsu', farmers were already used to orders and suggestions from the gentry as to modification of their traditional ways. But it was not until the growth of population and the money economy that changes were to be brought about, not so much by orders from above, but chiefly by the workings of economic forces.

175 177 433 249 The ultimately most effective agent of change had been the introduction of the sugar cane plant in 1623 and its concomitant technique of sugar manufacture.[1] It was not until a decade after the Japanese took over the islands, however, that sugar production began to increase, and not until after the Russo-Japanese war that sugar really became an important crop in the economy. By 1939 the production of sugar amounted to more than a million tons, and production exceeded consumption by ninefold.[2] By the end of the 1951-1952 winter pressing season, production had declined to 256,000 tons.[3]

175 62 [829] About the time of Commodore Perry's visit the population of Okinawa had begun to grow, and new areas were settled by both commoners and the gentry. Nanahan dates its existence from this period. Of the first three families to settle here, one came from Shuri gentry, and two others were commoners from the main settlement of Tomoyose. Of the seven settlements of the village of Yamada, three were settled by commoners and one by the gentry. All had come from the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century. In Okinawa everyone seems to be aware of his place in history, and in the older settlements one often hears the remark, "...they are newcomers; they have been here for only two hundred years."

175 241 178 433 [977] In general the agricultural history of Okinawa falls into three periods. The first saw a self-sufficient economy, in which banana cloth was made in the village. The chief crops were millet, arrowroot, and sweet potatoes. With the introduction of a money economy, and its further intensification under the Japanese, sugar gradually turned from its previous use as a home confection to a full money crop. Rice acreage fell as more sugar was planted, and sweet potatoes found a greater place in the diet. The old crops of millet, cassava, and arrowroot were all but abandoned in Shimajiri, and became less important in the north. The third period is essentially the post-war and still continuing one, in which the growing of vegetables for the

1 Navy Handbook, p. 240.

2 CAARI, p. 156.

3 Summation of U. S. Army Military Government Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, July-November 1946, p. 25.

of a first son the parents' responsibility toward him may even increase as he grows older, since the continuity of the family depends upon him. Also the child's duty to obey his parents does not end with his majority, and this duty also may be stronger for a first son. All this is in sharp contrast with the situation in American society, where the responsibility of the parent to the child is greatest when the child is small and gradually recedes as the child grows older, where the parents' responsibilities toward minor children are identical regardless of the sex or age of the child relative to others, and where the duty of the child to obey its parents clearly ends when it reaches majority.

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is also closer than is commonly the case in the United States. There is greater physical intimacy, there are greater mutual obligations, and there is therefore a greater feeling of security derived from the relationship.

The relationship of siblings too is different from that in the United States. There is no equality among Okinawan brothers; each has his own status, the first son having the most responsibility and the most privileges. Sisters are inferior to their brothers, but are more nearly equal to each other. But the brothers constitute a single unit even though they are unequal, the very numbering of them, first son, second son, and so forth, sets them apart as a unit separate from other units composed of numbered sons. As adults they are expected to cooperate, and usually do. It seems likely that the American passion for equality, with its resulting arguments among children as to who got the larger piece of pie, may result in greater conflict among siblings than exists in Okinawan society.

I have attempted to indicate briefly some of the main features of the Okinawan family, how it differs from the American family, and how it provides a greater sense of security for the individual. This security, it should be emphasized, is at the expense of freedom and equality. Later, in discussing the life of the individual, I shall examine some of these features more closely. Moreover, I shall also try to show that family life not only provides the individual with a feeling of security, but also provides him with the pattern of relationships that he extends to the rest of the world and is the source of some of his basic anxieties.

Classification of Kin It has long been recognized that the categories of language are likely to be the categories of thought, and that if we are to understand how the members of another society see some aspect of reality---color, plant life, the passage of time, we can well begin by learning how they classify their perception---by studying their color terms, botanical taxonomy, terms for the seasons and other divisions of time. In the study of social organization this method is even more useful because the reality as well as the conception is man-made. Thus the categories into which the members of a society group their kinfolk have proved to be important clues to the organization of that society. I shall therefore describe briefly the kinship terms used by the Okinawans.

The terms themselves do not matter for this purpose. They vary from place to place and from social class to class. But it is significant that

162 this may be the result of the war; the southern islands escaped heavy damage and loss of life. The urban area of Naha-Mawashi has a well-balanced sex ratio, and is probably a reflection of the number of men who directly or indirectly are connected with military employment.

The total number of persons per household has not appreciably changed in the fifteen years from 1937 to 1952:

Table Ia

Political Unit	Persons per Household, 1937	Persons per HH, 1952
Okinawa-ken	4.67	4.70
Naha	4.21	4.41
Shuri	4.18	4.17

The loss of men in the war was compensated for by those men who returned from Japan and those who repatriated from the Mandated Islands.

2. Population Characteristics of a Rural 'Son'

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Kochinda-son lies almost in the center of the southern section of Shimajiri. It does not border anywhere on the sea, and is entirely rural in that it has no industries of urban character. It is realized that no one area will be entirely typical of the whole of Okinawa; however, the population dynamics of this 'son' will undoubtedly be reflected in kind, if not in degree, by that of other farming areas. Fishing towns such as Itoman, Henza, Yakena and Yonabaru each probably have special types of adjustments that are not true of Kochinda.

[127] This researcher was permitted to copy the entire 'koseki' (population register) of Kochinda-son. In addition explanatory information was given by the 'son' office personnel when requested. In many cases it was possible to follow up and interview persons cognizant of the details of certain situations.

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[177] Okinawa still follows the prewar Japanese system of inheritance by first sons. Under normal conditions in the countryside, the first sons would inherit the bulk of the farm plots, and second sons would inherit a few plots and set up separate households. Or the second and following sons might go to Naha, Osaka or the south seas to seek employment. The war disrupted this pattern, and it is germane to examine the types and numbers of household heads, as one index of postwar change.

Because the solution of the population problem is a factor in Civil Administration planing for Okinawa, it is of importance to know the fertility ratio and the amount of spacing between births. The Okinawans, like the Japanese, tend to register a marriage after the birth of the first child. This should be quantified if possible. In addition, age at marriage should be known, since it bears a direct relationship to population increase. The number of illegitimate and common law children in the villages indicates

[Kochinda-son]

something as to the attitudes toward marriage, the family, and sexual mores of the inhabitants. Study of divorce also helps to illuminate the dynamics of a population. All of these categories are discussed below.

Types of Household Heads All the households in Kochinda-son were classified into seven categories. Where possible this was done on the basis of the relationship of the present household head to the former household head. Table II shows the percentage of households in each category.

Table II

Category	Percentage of Households
First Sons	41.7
Second Sons	17.8
Third Sons	9.3
Other Sons (Sons of Fourth Order and above, and adopted sons, or 'yōshi')	7.4
Other Types (Younger Brother, etc.)	2.1
Grandsons	1.8
Women	19.9
All Types	100.00

The really surprising fact shown above is the number of women household heads, almost one in five. The percentage of households headed by first, second and third sons is probably not far from the prewar norm. However, within the families of each class of household head, conditions vary widely. Table III brings out the disparities of membership in families headed by the various types of household heads.

Table III

Type of Household Head	Average Males per Household	Average Females per Household	Average Persons per HH	Sex Ratio
First Sons	2.93	3.04	5.97	96.5
Second Sons	2.91	2.63	5.54	110.9
Third Sons	2.76	2.73	5.49	103.3
Other Sons	2.46	2.67	5.13	92.3
Other Types	2.16	2.09	4.25	103.1
Grandsons	2.49	2.51	5.00	98.9
Women	1.14	2.20	3.34	52.1

First Sons Frequent reference is made in Okinawa to the "heavy burden of being a first son." The large number of women per household in that category of household head bears out this assertion. If a first son assumes the duties as traditional head of the family, his mother and grandmother most likely will live with him after their spouses are dead. He must also assume responsibility for all unmarried younger sisters, as well as take care of any older sisters who become divorced. The "heavy role of

4. A Comparison of Land Tenure in Two Rural Villages: Kanegusuku and Kitazato

621 Kanegusuku The village of Kanegusuku is located in the southwestern cor-
[34] ner of Kanegusuku-son approximately three miles due south of Naha on the west coast, and it is immediately north of the town of Itoman. As is typical of the old Okinawan villages it is situated on high ground with all of its houses facing in a southerly direction. Aside from a detached cluster of eleven houses, the village houses are close together in a contiguous settlement. The village was selected for study because of its [12] infrequent contact with Americans, relative lack of war damage, and a reputed antiquity and conservatism. As of December, 1953, the population was 507 persons forming 108 families occupying 103 houses. The present population is said to be about the same as before the war despite a 20% loss of life during the battle; this loss has been made up by repatriates from overseas and immigrants from other areas of Okinawa. The repatriates and some of the immigrants either had formerly resided in the village or regarded it as their ancestral home. There are nine families who were native to some other part of Okinawa before the war and have no previous connections with the village. The majority of the families have been in this village for [592] many generations. There are approximately five persons in each household, which usually consists of a nuclear family, husband and wife and their children; but the composition of a number of households has been changed due to wartime losses.

Socially the village is segmented into eight lineages which con-[613] stitute 92% of the total population; the remaining 8% is made up of unrelated families new to the village since the end of the war. One lineage includes nearly 61% of the village in its membership. Each of these lineages [502] is related to lineages in other villages. Approximately 66% of the village marriages have been within the village, and nearly 50% of the marriages have been between persons of the same kin group. Thus, the composition of the village is fairly homogeneous, and both the community and the kin groups are strong cohesive units.

621 Occupation 98 of the 103 houses are engaged full time in farming;
463 the household heads of the five remaining houses are employed outside the
241 village in non-agricultural pursuits although all participate in some part-time farming. In addition to these five there were approximately fifteen young men, not household heads, who also worked outside. Most of these commuted daily to the greater Naha area where they were engaged in military employment or construction work. For the majority of villagers farming was the sole occupation.

621 Arable Land Over 66% of the total area of this village is under
311 cultivation, and about 38% of the cultivated land is in irrigated fields.
[434] The chief sources of income derive from rice and mats made from a sedge which is grown in an irrigated field. In terms of the average amount of [136] arable land per household Kanegusuku is somewhat better off than the average for Okinawa: 1514.2 'tsubo' for Kanegusuku as compared with 1037.6 'tsubo' for Okinawa.

[Kanegusuku]
[Kitazato]

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on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers.

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Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their circumstances.

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Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name.

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Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections. Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana, taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes. These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first impressions of the village.

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CHAPTER IX: HEALTH

W. P. Suttles

121 This chapter will begin with a section on the human body---attitudes
128 toward and practices concerned with its care and its functions. This will be followed by a section on sanitation---attitudes and practices. A third section will deal with concepts of the supernatural and their relationship to illness. A fourth will describe the various types of "medical" practitioners found in Okinawan society, and Okinawan attitudes toward modern medicine. It will be seen that this chapter contains much that is often described under the heading "Religion" or even "Values" and contains little on the actual state of health and incidence of disease among the Okinawans. But we believe that this is as it should be in a report on Okinawan culture. That sanitation is poor and disease is prevalent is no doubt all too apparent to the medical observer. A detailed study of the diseases themselves must be made by research workers competent in that field. A study of native culture, however, reveals some of the underlying causes of poor sanitation and poor health. We feel therefore that this is a valid unit and properly put under the title "Health".

1. The Human Body: Practices and Attitudes

261 Eating and Drinking. Okinawans enjoy food and drink and make numerous events the occasion for their enjoyment. Questions about holidays frequently soon elicit long descriptions of the types of dishes appropriate to each. To a Westerner the variety may not seem great, but to the Okinawans a slight difference in the consistency of a soup may call for a
262 differentiating term. The variety of foods is probably as great as it can be within the limits of Okinawan resources. Foods are valued differently.
[171] Rice ranks high, sweet potatoes low. Pork is esteemed, as in China but not in Japan.

264 Three meals a day is usual. Rice, soup, and boiled foods are served in bowls, fried foods in flat dishes. These are eaten with chopsticks. The bowl may be held in the hand near the mouth; soup may be drunk directly from it. Some foods, such as noodles, are habitually sucked up with considerable noise. This noise is neither made purposely nor is it avoided; it just does not matter. Children may bolt their food without being scolded for it, but adults seem to have no compulsion to eat fast, as the Japanese are said to
[574] have. On festive occasions men are served in the first room, women in the second. On these occasions a portion may be served already in a box so that it may be taken home. On ordinary occasions the family may eat together,
[321] though women often eat in the kitchen by the oven. Conversation of both
[574] light and serious matter may accompany eating. Serving food is essential to the entertainment of guests and to the payment of social debts.

273 Drink is also essential to entertainment. Tea is drunk first thing
[272] in the morning and at any time of the day or evening. But for men something stronger is also desirable. Usually it is the clear, strong, distilled drink

CHAPTER X: EDUCATION

W. P. Suttles

121 871 None of the SIRI team worked on education as such. We have no basis for a discussion of the physical condition of the schools, number of teachers per pupil, texts, etc., other than the data readily available in USCAR publications. However, it may be useful to include in this report a brief chapter on attitudes toward education, the role of the teacher, and evidence of the results of education, as we have seen them in the course of our research. As I shall try to point out, there are indications that education on Okinawa may not be doing all that it professes to do. Yet it is a remarkable and praiseworthy fact that education has progressed as well as it has, considering the truly terrible destruction of the war and the long and trying process of rebuilding the material facilities and the morale of teachers and students.

1. Respect for Education

871 554 565 [647] Respect for education and the educated is deeply rooted in Okinawan culture. For several centuries administrative posts in the Ryukyuan kingdom were filled by officials drawn from the gentry class and appointed, it is said, on the basis of an examination. The gentry class held a virtual monopoly of education, which was thus one of the bases of their superior status. It is not surprising that the gentry class of the past is identified with learning. An illiterate old man of gentry descent once explained to me that the gentry were originally teachers appointed to various villages, thus misinterpreting the former bureaucracy as a school system.

871 554 791 Another profession open to the educated man in the past, and in the present, is that of the diviner. One of the native terms for this person is suumuchi, the "person with books", his books being the ones with which he reads a person's fate. This is a profession that commands respect. It is quite likely that at one time the diviner was the only person who possessed books with whom the ordinary peasant ever had contact. Books were thus associated with status and with nearly supernatural power.

554 871 Education is still regarded as a means of rising in status. As indicated in Chapter V, the potential scholar is given special treatment by his family because all may participate in the rise in status that his education may bring. But times have changed. In the days of the Ryukyuan kingdom the rewards for education may have come automatically, but under the Japanese administration this was less true, and perhaps least of all today. Education is indeed still valued for its own sake, but it is expected to bring material rewards; if it does not, its authenticity may be questioned.

554 Still, the prestige of learning probably accounts for a type of pseudo-scholar who may be found both in the rural and in the urban scene. In several villages we encountered such individuals, elderly men who were regarded as local sages, who discoursed learnedly and uncritically on local traditions, who revealed information derived from one or two carefully guarded books

CHAPTER XII: OKINAWAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

[Yamada]

● 121 In this chapter we shall describe the effects of the occupation and types of relationships that have developed between Americans and Okinawans in a rural setting. We shall discuss the problems of Okinawan military employment. And we shall discuss the nature of Okinawan attitudes toward the United States, toward Japan, and toward themselves as a separate ethnic unit.

1. The Rural Setting: Yamada

W. P. Suttles

621 [361] [241] Changes in Structure and Orientation The village of Yamada lies in southern Onna-son on the China Sea shore of Okinawa just south of the Ishikawa isthmus. The village is actually composed of several settlements that form a single 'ku' (the administrative unit) in a single 'aza' (the land unit). The topography of the 'aza' is rather uneven. The great majority of the people are farmers. They raise a little tea on one of the higher hills, sweet potatoes and other root crops and a little wheat on their upland fields, and a considerable amount of rice in paddies at the bottoms of their narrow valleys.

Before the war Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements. Two were the old villages of Yamada and Kuraha. Four were yaarui (J. 'yadori'), smaller, separate settlements established by settlers (chijuunin, J. 'kiryūmin') who had left the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century. Of these four, three, the mee ("front") and kushi ("rear") yaarui of Tirabaru and the yaarui of Uema were settled by commoners (hyakusoo, J. 'heimin'); the fourth and most isolated, Tirabaru, was settled by gentry (yukatchu, J. 'shizoku'). The seventh settlement, Ajimaa, was a recent clustering of houses and shops around the crossroads and school.

For purposes of administration the aza was divided into 'han'. Since administration meant mainly the communication of instructions from above, number of houses and distance were probably the principal factors in determining the size of the 'han'. Thus the three larger settlements, Yamada, Kuraha, and Ajimaa, were each a 'han'; two of the yaarui that were close together, the mee and kushi yaarui of Tirabaru, formed a single 'han'; but the remaining two yaarui, Uema and Tarigaa, were separate 'han', probably because they were too far apart for one 'hanchō' to transmit information to both.

But for purposes of cooperation in certain economic and social activities, a unit larger than the single yaarui was evidently needed. This unit was the chinju (J. 'kinjo', meaning "neighborhood"). The three larger settlements were each a chinju, besides being each a 'han'. The two yaarui that formed a single 'han' also formed a single chinju. But the two yaarui that formed separate 'han' also formed a single chinju, their distance apart apparently being of less importance than the need for a larger cooperative unit.